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STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE TOWARDS WOMEN MANAGERS: AN EXPERIMENTAL ILLUSTRATION USING THE GOLDBERG-PARADIGM IN A ROMANIAN SAMPLE

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Abstract: An experimental study based on Goldberg's paradigm was carried out to investigate stereotypical attitudes towards women managers in a mixed gender sample. 329 participants were asked to participate in a simulated personnel selection decision task. 166 participants had to choose between 2 resumes describing 2 men, while 163 participants had to choose between the same 2 resumes, but they were told that the first resume belonged to a woman. All participants were also asked to assess the managerial skills, orientation towards task and towards relations of both candidates. Results show a clear drop of preferences in the second experimental condition for the resume describing a woman compared with the preferences expressed by the participants in the first experimental condition for the same resume describing a man. Also, participants in the second experimental condition rated the male applicant's managerial skills, task orientation and relationships orientation higher than the female applicant's. However, contrary to what was expected, women raters were equally as discriminative against woman applicant as men raters were. This result does not support the prediction of the implicit social cognition theory and is explained by the traditional values of Romanian culture, in which women are much more perceived as being engaged in the private sphere than the public one.

Key words: gender stereotypes, discrimination, women managers

In the early '90s, many studies reported a low representation of women in managerial positions compared with men (e.g., Adler, Izraeli, 1994; Billing, Alvesson, 1994). This fact triggered extensive research focused on prejudice and discrimination against women managers. The "glass ceiling" concept emerged from these studies, illustrating that women are discriminated against throughout their career, starting with the process of personnel selection. This discrimination continues with performance appraisal, career devel-

opment opportunities and the fact that women are usually confined to typically female jobs (Appold, Siengthai, Kasarda, 1998; Billing, Alvesson, 1994; Davison, Burke, 2000). Discrimination still remains one of the dark spots of organizational life and several elaborate theoretical models have been put forward to explain gender discrimination.

The concept of stereotypes is central to most of the theoretical models of discrimination (Hilton, Hoppel, 1996). According to these models, discrimination originates from entertaining unfavorable cognitions of women (gender stereotypes) (Eagly, 2004; Pettigrew, 1997). This classic view

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of the nature of gender stereotypes and their impact on behavior are highlighted in several recent theories. The implicit social cognition theory proposed by Greenwald and collaborators (2002) defines a stereotype as the cognitive association between a concept representing a social group and one or more attribute concepts. The impact of stereotypes on behavior depends on the strength of the associations between simultaneously activated concepts (Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, Mellott, 2002). In role congruity theory (Eagly, Karau, 2002), discriminative behavior is explained by the discrepancies in the perceived relations between the characteristics of a certain social category and the requirements of the social roles occupied or desired by the members of that category.

There is strong empirical support for both the implicit social cognition theory (Greenwald et al., 2002) and role congruity theory (Eagly, Karau, 2002). These theories are, therefore, particularly relevant for explaining prejudice and discrimination against women managers. The theoretical propositions of these two theories concerning the evaluator's gender as moderator of the discriminative behavior are slightly similar. According to the implicit social cognition theory (Greenwald et al., 2002), compared with men, women have a significantly lower tendency to discriminate in favor of men against women applicants for managerial positions. Role congruity theory posits that these gender differences in evaluating applicants for managerial positions are only marginal. Most of the empirical evidence confirming the role congruity theory are collected on Western European and American samples (see for illustrative examples the samples cited by Davison, Burke, 2000, and Eagly, Karau, 2002) and next to no evidence is available from Eastern European countries.

The aim of the present study is to use a Romanian sample to empirically test in a simulated personnel selection task the propositions of the two theories. This study extends research in several ways. It extends the prediction of implicit social cognition theory in a research context (simulated employment situations) in which most of the studies on gender discrimination are based on role congruity theory. Besides exploring gender discrimination in a simulated personnel selection task, the study takes into consideration relationship orientation and task orientation as distinctive features of gender stereotypes in leadership roles. The Romanian sample used in this study belongs to a rather traditional culture with respect to the position of women in managerial roles, and it allows the comparison with data from other more modern (i.e., western) cultures. We first give an overview of implicit social cognition theory and role congruity theory. Second, we use the Goldberg paradigm as an indirect evaluation strategy for gender stereotypes, and we argue that this paradigm is suitable for stereotype evaluation given their implicit nature. Finally, we test in a 2 (gender of the evaluator: male vs. female) x 2 (gender of the evaluated person: male vs. female) experimental design the moderating role of the evaluator's gender on the discriminative behavior in a simulated personnel selection task.

Gender Stereotypes and Managerial Roles

Stereotypes are cognitions (beliefs, expectations and convictions) referring to the traits, attributes and behavior specific to the members of a social category (Hilton, Hippel, 1996). These cognitions are often organized in coherent schemes. They account for the association of certain attributes with that category and they establish

the conditions under which stereotyped representations are activated or modified (Hamilton, Sherman, 1994).

Recent research focuses on the implicit character of stereotyped representations (Greenwald et al., 2002). In their implicit social cognition theory, Greenwald and collaborators (2002) consider stereotypes as implicit knowledge, operating unconsciously. According to this perspective, stereotypes cannot be identified through introspection. They are acquired through experience, especially during social interactions, and they mediate the attribution of qualities or traits to the members of a social category (Greenwald et al., 2002). This theory starts out from three main assumptions: 1) the associative nature of social knowledge, 2) the centrality of the self and 3) the self-positivity assumption. The main consequence of these assumptions for the conceptualization of social stereotypes is that they are viewed as associations between the concept representing a social group (e.g., women) and attribute concepts (carrying, nurturing). These associations are organized in larger social knowledge networks in which self-representation has a central position and is strongly associated with positive-valence attributes. According to this conceptualization of social stereotypes, the amplitude of discrimination depends on the strength of the associations between simultaneously activated concepts, as well as on the shared links between them. Hence it is not only the direct links that matter, but also links that are shared (indirect links) in conceptual triads. The first theoretical principle stated by Greenwald and collaborators (2002) - the associative nature of social knowledge - asserts that if two "unlinked or weakly linked nodes share a first order link, the association between these two should strengthen" (balance-congruity

principle) (Greenwald et al., 2002, p. 6). According to the third assumption - the self-positivity assumption - the conceptual triads containing the self-concept are always balanced toward a positive-valence attribute. In the case of gender stereotypes in managerial roles, this line of reasoning implies that women are less liable than men to devalue women managers against men. For women, the concept of representation of a woman has an indirect link with a positive value attribute through the self-concept (according to the self-positivity assumption), while the concept representation of a manager has a direct link with a positive-valence node (the attributes describing a successful manager are positive in nature, see Powell et al., 2002, and Sczesny, 2003). In this case, the concept representation of woman and the concept representation of manager share a link with the positive-valence node. According to the balance-congruity principle, the link between these two concepts should be strengthened. For men, the concept representations of woman and of manager most probably do not share a first order link with the positive-valence node, since the concept representation of woman is not part of a positively balanced self-concept triad. As a consequence, women evaluators' tendency to devalue women managers is expected to be significantly lower than men's.

The analysis, evaluation and attribution of managerial abilities are tasks in which one's judgment is affected by stereotyped representations. An important aspect of gender stereotypes is the fact that men are seen as more active, action-oriented and competent compared to women (Avsec, 2003, 2006; Diekmann, Eagly, 2000; Kusá, 2002; Sczesny, 2003). Managerial attributes are rather associated with the typical man than with a woman. Women are

thought to have inferior managerial skills than those of men and to be significantly less efficient than men in these positions (Schein, 2001; Heilman, 2001; Eagly, Karau, 2002; Sczesny, 2003). The tendency to devalue women's managerial skills and efficiency has also been shown in cross-cultural studies (Schein, Mueller, 1992; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, Liu, 1996; Sharepour, 2005). Because stereotypes are cognitions shared by the members of a certain community, the impact of stereotypes on behavior is also influenced by cultural factors. In more masculine cultures, the gender stereotypes in management are expected to be stronger, because in these cultures, men are perceived as being better leaders and managers than women (Ragins, Sundstrom, 1989; Schein, Mueller, 1992). In conclusion, culture is an important factor that impacts on the activation and use as well as on the content of gender-related stereotypes.

Role congruity theory (Eagly, Karau, 2002) explains these results as discrepancies between two sets of social stereotypes. The human cognitive system uses stereotyped representations of gender as well as stereotyped representations of managerial roles. Since there is a greater similarity between the cognitive representation of the typical man and that of an efficient manager, there is a general tendency to evaluate the managerial skills of a man more positively than those of a woman (Eagly, Karau, 2002). According to role congruity theory, behavior discriminating against women managers results from the fact that gender is a salient category and gender-stereotypical expectations are especially powerful in fostering consistent behavior. Since role stereotypes and gender stereotypes are socially shared cognitive representations, both men and women are susceptible to the behavioral effects of the

incongruity between managerial role expectations and gender role expectations (discrimination). However, due to the development of gender identity (Lukšík, Bláhová, 2005) the gender of the perceiver has been shown to slightly influence the strength of the effect (Eagly, Karau, 2002). This theoretical proposition supports the proposition of implicit social cognition theory.

A difference between the two theories is that the implicit social cognition research focused more on indirect and implicit ways of evaluating social stereotypes, while role expectancy theory relies rather on explicit/direct measures. As a matter of fact, investigating stereotypes in an explicit manner is a common problem in studies on gender stereotypes. In some of these studies participants were asked to fill in questionnaires or to describe the typical image of a male or female manager (Heilman, Block, Martell, Simon, 1989; Willemssen, 2002; Powell, Butterfield, Parent, 2002; Sczesny, 2003). Recent research on stereotypes (Greenwald et al., 2002; Fazio, Olson, 2003) shows that explicit and direct evaluation methods are not the most suitable measures for the study of the relation between gender stereotypes and managerial efficiency.

The implicit social cognition theory states that the associations between concepts are automatically activated and that they are not accessible to introspection because they are implicit by nature. Therefore indirect measures should be used for stereotype evaluation. This theoretical proposition challenges the ecological validity of the explicit methods by means of which stereotypes are traditionally assessed. The presence of racial, gender or other kinds of stereotypes can be observed in the behavior of people that explicitly disapprove of such stereotypes. In order to maximize the

validity of research on stereotypes, implicit/indirect methods should be used (Greenwald, Banaji, 1996; Greenwald et al., 2002; Eagly, Karau, 2002; Fazio, Olson, 2003). In their comprehensive review of implicit measures in social cognition, Fazio and Olson (2003) argue that indirect measures are more suitable than explicit measures for evaluating stereotypes (Fazio, Olson, 2003). Such a method is the so-called Goldberg paradigm.

*Goldberg Paradigm
and the Indirect Evaluation
of Gender Stereotypes*

Goldberg suggested an interesting experimental paradigm in order to observe whether women are really disadvantaged in personnel recruitment and selection processes. In his first study, Goldberg (1968) asked a sample of students to assess the quality of an article in press. Half the participants were told that the article was written by a male, the other half that it was written by a female. The article assumed to be written by the female was evaluated less favorably on most of the measures used in the study, compared with the case in which the respondents thought it was written by a male (Goldberg, 1968).

The core idea of this paradigm is to ask people to make evaluative judgments about the identical products or abilities of seemingly different people (a male and a female) (Eagly, Karau, 2002). This method has been used to study discriminative trends that may appear in women's performance appraisal, personnel selection, as well as in promoting decisions. One of the most frequently used techniques consists of asking two samples of participants to make an appraisal of the same resume. Presumably, the resume belonged to a person applying for a vacant position. One

of the groups was told that the resume belonged to a woman, the other that it belonged to a man. The evaluation of the resumes is usually influenced by a number of factors, among which: the gender of the applicant, the gender of the respondent, the position applied for, and the qualities listed in the resume (Rosen, Jerdee, 1973; Arvey, 1979; Olian, Schwab, Haberfeld, 1988; Swim, Borgida, Maruyama, Myers, 1989; Tosi, Einbender, 1985; Davison, Burke, 2000; Eagly, Karau, 2002).

Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky (1992) conducted a meta-analysis of 61 experimental studies using designs similar to the Goldberg paradigm, which used as an independent variable the gender of the leader target of evaluation, while other traits were kept constant. The result of this analysis showed that men evaluate women's efficiency in male dominated leadership roles in a more depreciative manner. Male raters devalue women to a slightly larger extent than women raters do (Eagly, Makhijani, Klonsky, 1992).

Davison and Burke (2000) conducted a meta-analysis of 43 studies published in psychological and organizational behavior journals and 6 unpublished dissertations, all of them using the Goldberg paradigm to investigate discrimination against women in simulated personnel recruitment and selection studies, performance appraisal and promotion decisions. The results of this meta-analysis showed that when comparing a male with a female in the above-mentioned situations, women are devalued. There is a general tendency (even though not statistically significant in this meta-analysis) to evaluate women in performance appraisal less favorably and to reject them more often in the hypothetical process of personnel selection. The discrimination effect is higher if the rater is a male. This meta-analysis also emphasizes the

moderating role of the position for which the evaluation is made. Women are advantaged in typically female positions, while men are preferred and more favorably evaluated when applying for typically male occupations (Davison, Burke, 2000). Other studies, however, showed that women also tend to evaluate the performance of a female manager less favorably compared with the performance of a man when asked to assess their managerial skills (Deal, Stevenson, 1998).

Drawing on the theoretical propositions of the implicit social cognition theory (Greenwald et al., 2002) and on the main results reported in previous studies using the Goldberg paradigm to investigate the impact of gender stereotypes on the evaluative judgments in simulated employment environments our prediction is, that when choosing between two identical resumes, one belonging to a woman and one to a man, both applying for a managerial position, respondents are expected to prefer the man's resume and this bias is expected to be stronger for the male re-

spondents (raters). Therefore our first hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 1: Evaluators prefer men to women applicants for a managerial position.

Hypothesis 2: The bias of gender-related stereotypes in personnel decision tasks for managerial positions is stronger for men evaluators than for women.

Another relevant aspect related to the content of gender stereotypes in managerial activities is the leadership style. Several studies have shown that women leaders more frequently adopt a transformational leadership style, while men adopt a more transactional leadership style (Bass, Avolio, 1992, 1994; Druskat, 1994; Bass, Avolio, Atwater, 1996). A synthesis of the results found in the literature is presented in Table 1. According to these results, a relevant part of the shared social stereotype towards women managers is that women managers are less tasks-oriented and more relations-oriented, compared with men managers (Eagly, Johnson, 1990; Maher, 1997; Carless, 1998; Sczesny, 2003).

Table 1. An integrative presentation of the research approaching gender differences in leadership style

Dimension	Results / Study
Leadership style	<p>Women adopt more frequently a leadership style oriented to building and maintaining interpersonal relationships, while men tend to focus on task achievement (Eagly, Johnson, 1990; Maher, 1997; Carless, 1998; Sczesny, 2003).</p> <p>Women adopt more frequently a transformational leadership style, while men are rather transactional leaders (Bass, Avolio, 1992, 1994; Druskat, 1994; Bass, Avolio, Atwater, 1996).</p> <p>Women leaders are more democratic than men leaders, who are rather authoritarian (Eagly, Johnson, 1990; Carless, 1998).</p>
Stereotyped representations related to managerial skills and managerial efficiency	<p>The traits associated with successful managers are more similar to the typical male than to the female portrait. Women are generally evaluated as less skilled and less efficient managers and leaders compared with men (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, Schein, 1989; Eagly, Makhiajani, Klonsky, 1992; Heilman, Block, Martell, 1995; Maher, 1997; Heilman, 2001; Powell, Butterfield, Parent, 2002; Willemsen, 2002; Sczesny, 2003).</p>

In terms of Greenwald's theory, these results suggest that the concept of "woman" has a stronger association with attributes related to a relationship-oriented management style, while the concept of "man" has a stronger associations with attributes related to task accomplishment. On the lines of the same theory (Greenwald et al., 2002), the linked concepts tend to be activated simultaneously and therefore influence the subsequent evaluative judgments. Hence, our next hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 3: Women who apply for a managerial position are perceived by raters as less task-oriented and more relationship-oriented, compared with men.

Hypothesis 4: When compared with men, women are devalued with respect to their managerial skills.

METHOD

Sample

The respondents (329, 147 women), aged 17 to 59 (average 25.61), were randomly selected by a group of 16 Romanian students of psychology working as field operators. As part of their research training activities in an application course, every student was required to select from his/her own social network twenty respondents of different ages and ask them to participate in the study. Every student collected data for a particular experimental condition. The respondents had either completed a higher education program (equivalent of a Bachelor degree) or were undergraduate students. The selection of highly educated people was done to make sure that the respondents had a proper understanding of a manager's job description. The respondents were assigned to two different groups that followed different experimental procedures. The student operators were

informed about the purpose and the hypotheses of the study only after all the data were collected. The descriptive statistics for age and the dependent variables for the control and experimental groups are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Procedure and Materials

Data was collected in 2003 using a procedure based on Goldberg's (1968) paradigm, which is an indirect assessment method of gender stereotypes. Respondents had to make social judgments about two people of the same (or both) sexes but with similar abilities, who were presumed to have applied for a managerial position in an organization. The method is indirect and inferences regarding the presence of implicit representations are possible after analyzing a specific responsive behavior.

We used a simulated personnel selection task. Respondents were told the study was aimed at assessing their decision-making skills in personnel selection. They were not informed about the real goal of the study.

Two similar resumes were written, describing people with similar skills, education, experience, and development opportunities as well as social and family background (the content of the resumes are presented in Appendix 1). The respondents were given the two resumes and they had to read them carefully. For the control group (CG, N = 166 respondents) the two resumes described two men, while for the experimental group (EG, N = 163 respondents) one of the resumes belonged to a man and one to a woman. All respondents were asked to analyze the two resumes and decide which of the two applicants they would hire if they were the organization's managers. The instructions given to them are presented in Appendix 1.

Several dimensions were evaluated in this study: the decision to hire/not hire an applicant and management skills evaluation for both applicants. We were first interested in the respondents' decisions and the extent to which this behavior was influenced by the gender of the target and the gender of the rater. Second, we were interested in the manner in which women managers were perceived, with regard to the following three dimensions: orientation towards relationships, orientation towards tasks and managerial skills. Hence, two types of measures were used, one of them being an indirect one (the decision to hire one of the applicants).

At the end of the procedure, every respondent was asked to "guess" the aim of the study, which factors were relevant for the researcher and the hypotheses of the study. No respondent managed to correctly guess the real experimental manipulation.

RESULTS

The results concerning the respondents' decisions show a significant difference in resume preferences related to the gender of the evaluated person. 59.88% of the respondents in the control (male/male) group chose the first resume, while only 32.30% of the respondents chose that resume in the experimental (female/male) group (in other words, the female's resume). When the respondents' gender was considered as

moderator, the same pattern of preferences was observed, but the preference shift was greater in the case of the women sample (see Table 2). We can conclude therefore that our first hypothesis was only partly supported. The gender of the evaluator did not moderate the shift in the expressed preferences in the direction posited in the first hypothesis (i.e., that men evaluators will discriminate against women more than women evaluators will).

The analysis of the decision-making behavior allows us to make inferences about the presence of negative stereotyped representations regarding women managers. Having to hypothetically choose between a male and a female for a managerial position, they show a strong preference for the man's resume.

The χ^2 test confirms a significant difference between the choices made by respondents in the two experimental conditions ($\chi^2 = 24.71$, $p < .0001$). For the male sample $\chi^2 = 11.65$, $p < .001$ and for the female sample $\chi^2 = 13.96$, $p < .0001$, showing the same pattern of significant shift in preferences. Therefore, we can conclude that Hypothesis 1 is fully supported by the data. However, Hypothesis 2, stating that women are less prone than men to make gender biased evaluations of applicants for managerial positions, is not supported. On the contrary, women seem more willing to select a man for managerial positions (see the larger shift in preferences in the sample of women).

Table 2. The percent of expressed preferences for each of the two resumes in the control (both applicants are said to be male) and the experimental group (the person presented in the first resume is a woman)

	Male respondents		Female respondents	
	Resume 1	Resume 2	Resume 1	Resume 2
Control group (CG)	53 (61.62%)	33 (38.38%)	44 (57.89%)	32 (42.11%)
Experimental group (EG)	34 (36.17%)	60 (63.83%)	18 (26.86%)	49 (73.14%)

The general scores on the scales attached to the resumes support a general trend of considering men as more skilled managers than women. Comparing the score averages showed no significant differences between the average scores for the three dependent variables if both applicants were thought to be males (for details, see Ta-

ble 3). When the first resume supposedly belonged to a female, there were significantly different evaluations of the applicants for all three measured variables. The male applicant obtained significantly higher scores for managerial skills, relationship as well as task-orientation (see Table 4).

Table 3. Means, standard deviations and the results of the comparison between the average scores of the two resumes for the control group (both candidates are men)

Group of respondents	Dependent variable	Resume	N	Average	Std. dev.
Men	RELATION-ORIENTED t = NS	First resume	88	5.01	.85
		Second resume	88	4.94	.90
	TASK-ORIENTED t = NS	First resume	88	5.28	.82
		Second resume	88	5.14	1.01
	MANAGERIAL SKILLS t = NS	First resume	88	5.29	.77
		Second resume	88	5.22	1.13
Women	RELATION-ORIENTED t = NS	First resume	77	5.23	.81
		Second resume	78	5.13	.99
	TASK-ORIENTED t = NS	First resume	77	5.35	.88
		Second resume	78	5.34	.84
	MANAGERIAL SKILLS t = NS	First resume	77	5.55	.67
		Second resume	78	5.47	.75

Table 4. Means, standard deviations and the results of the comparison between the average scores of the two resumes for the experimental group (the first candidate is a woman and the second one is a man)

Group of respondents	Dependent variable	Resume	N	Average	Std. dev.
Men	RELATION-ORIENTED t = 2.35 (p < .02)	First resume (the woman)	94	4.93	.99
		Second resume (the man)	94	5.22	.89
	TASK-ORIENTED t = 4.94 (p < .0001)	First resume (the woman)	94	4.95	.92
		Second resume (the man)	94	5.51	.91

Table 4 continues

Table 4 (continued)

Women	MANAGERIAL SKILLS $t = 2.99$ ($p < .004$)	First resume (the woman)	93	5.07	.93
		Second resume (the man)	93	5.41	1.02
	RELATION-ORIENTED $t = 2.32$ ($p < .02$)	First resume (the woman)	69	4.97	.86
		Second resume (the man)	69	5.31	.90
	TASK-ORIENTED $t = 4.88$ ($p < .0001$)	First resume (the woman)	69	5.17	.76
		Second resume (the man)	69	5.70	.78
	MANAGERIAL SKILLS $t = 2.41$ ($p < .01$)	First resume (the woman)	69	5.26	.72
		Second resume (the man)	69	5.51	.88

Table 5. Means, standard deviations and correlations for the control group

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age	25.71	6.85						
2. Relationship orientation first candidate	5.11	.84	.12					
3. Task orientation first candidate	5.31	.85	.06	.59**				
4. Managerial skills first candidate	5.41	.74	.08	.46**	.57**			
5. Relationship orientation second candidate	5.04	.95	.04	.11	.18*	.18*		
6. Task orientation second candidate	5.24	.93	.02	.18*	.19*	.13	.62**	
7. Managerial skills second candidate	5.34	.97	.02	.03	.10	.28**	.56**	.60**

Legend: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

The means, standard deviations and correlations between the variables considered in the study are presented in Table 5 (for the control group) and Table 6 (for the experimental group). We used ANOVA for repeated measures with the experimental conditions

(control vs. experimental group) as the first between-subjects factor, respondents' gender as the second between-subjects factor (male vs. female respondents) and resumes as the within-subjects factor (first resume and second resume) to process the data.

Table 6. Means, standard deviations and correlations for the experimental group

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Age	25.51	7.59						
2. Relationship orientation first candidate	4.95	.93	.12					
3. Task orientation first candidate	5.04	.86	.07	.62**				
4. Managerial skills first candidate	5.15	.85	-.03	.40**	.54**			
5. Relationship orientation second candidate	5.26	.89	-.06	.14	.08	.03		
6. Task orientation second candidate	5.59	.86	-.07	.33**	.30**	.27**	.62**	
7. Managerial skills second candidate	5.45	.96	-.08	.28**	.20**	.39**	.48**	.66**

Legend: ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

For orientation toward relationships, the results of within-subjects contrasts show a non-significant effect of the within-subject variable alone, but significant in interaction with the experimental conditions (the first between-subjects factor)

[$F(1,324) = 8.28$, $p < .003$] (see Figure 1). The interaction between the respondents' gender and the within-subjects factor is not significant, neither is the interaction between all 3 factors considered in this analysis.

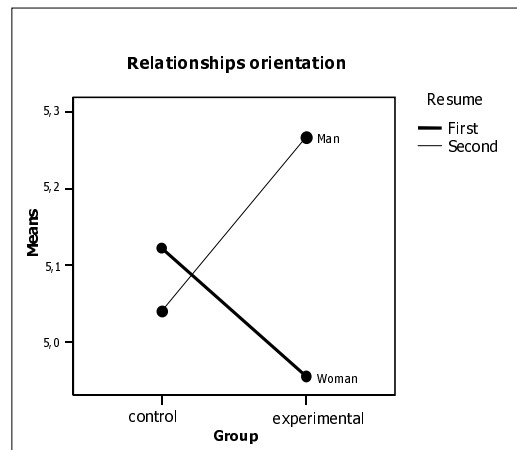


Figure 1. The assessment of managerial skills of the applicants presented in the two resumes made by respondents in the control group (in the control group both applicants are presented as males) and the experimental group (in the experimental group the person described in the first resume is said to be a female)

For task orientation, the results of the within-subjects contrasts show a significant effect of the within-subjects factors, [$F(1,324) = 8.74, p < .0001$], and an even stronger effect of the interaction between the within-subject factors and the experimental conditions [$F(1,324) = 27.15, p < .0001$] (see Figure 2). The interaction between the within-subjects factor and the respondents' gender is not significant, neither is the interaction between all three factors considered in the analysis. There is a significant effect of gender on the perceived task orientation [$F(1,324) = 4.70, p < .03$]. Female respondents generally perceive the two people described in the resumes as being more task-oriented than male respondents did (see also Tables 3 and 4).

Regarding managerial skills the effect of gender is significant, women having a tendency to consider the management skills of the applicants higher than men do. The interaction between the within-group factor and the experimental conditions is also significant [$F(1,323) = 10.70, p < .001$] and in line with the interaction effects reported earlier (see Figure 3).

The reported results show only partial support for Hypothesis 2, stating that women are perceived as having a stronger orientation toward relationships and a lower task orientation compared with men. The results only show that women applicants are perceived as being less task-oriented than men applicants. However, the results did support the third hypothesis stating that men are perceived as having a

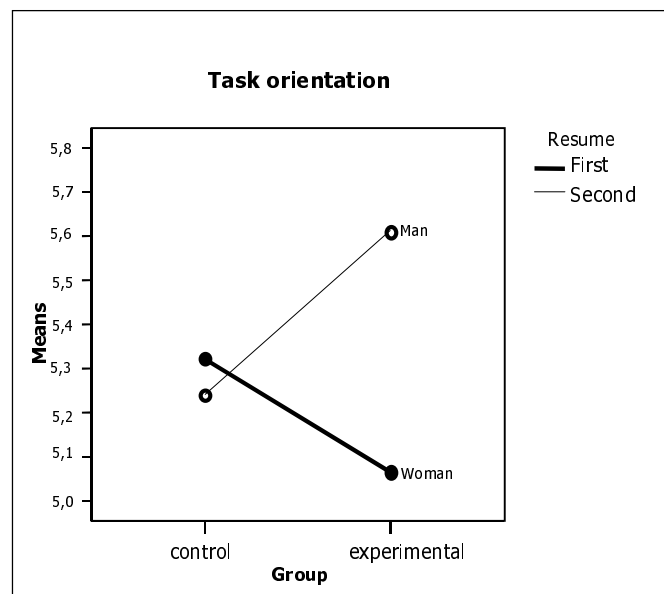


Figure 2. The assessment of orientation towards task of the applicants presented in the two resumes made by respondents in the control group (in the control group both applicants are presented as males) and the experimental group (in the experimental group the person described in the first resume is said to be a female)

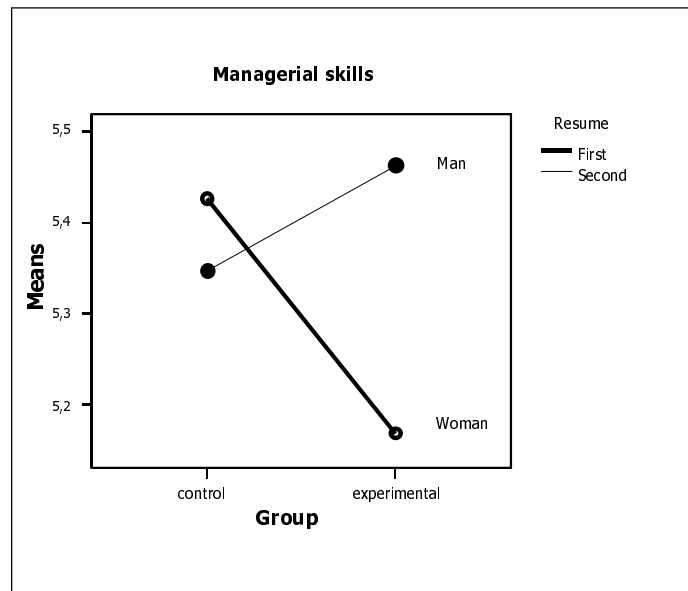


Figure 3. The assessment of managerial skills of the applicants presented in the two resumes made by respondents in the control group (in the control group both applicants are presented as males) and the experimental group (in the experimental group the person described in the first resume is said to be a female)

stronger task orientation compared with women. The way respondents evaluate the applicants' orientation toward relationship and task, as well as their managerial skills, seem to support their initial choice of one of the applicants. Generally, respondents rate the applicant they prefer higher than the one they reject on all items presented in the evaluation grid.

In conclusion we found strong support for the first and the last hypotheses, no support whatsoever for the second one and mixed support for Hypothesis 3.

DISCUSSION

Our study shows that when choosing between two similar resumes, one describ-

ing a woman and the other a man, both with similar skills and expertise and both applying for a managerial position, respondents prefer the man's resume. The radical shift in respondents' preference was determined by the introduction of the gender variable, which triggers the activation of stereotyped representations. As one may notice in Figures 1-3, on the one hand women are underrated when compared with the man in the experimental condition (despite the high similarity between the two resumes) and on the other hand, their ratings are lower compared with the ones received by the same CV when supposedly belonging to a man. These results obtained on a Romanian sample are similar to the ones reported in previous studies on west-

ern samples (see for excellent reviews Davison, Burke, 2000; Eagly, Makhijani, Klonski, 1992; Eagly, Karau, 2002).

There were two unexpected results in our study. The first one is that women discriminated against the female applicant to a larger extent than men did and the second one is that women are perceived as being less oriented toward relationships compared with men. We will further try to explain these intriguing results. The two theories we used in our theoretical discussion both state that women discriminate against other women to a lesser extent than men do. Greenwald et al.'s (2002) theory of the balanced identity design stated that there is a large difference between women and men regarding their discriminative gender-related behavior, in the sense that when evaluating women for a managerial position, men would underrate them much more than women would. They consider that gender-identification and hence the threat to self-positivity account for this difference (Greenwald et al., 2002). Eagly and Karau (2002), too, state this difference between men and women evaluators, but consider that the difference between them would be rather small. They argue that this reduced difference is related to the discrepancy between two stereotypes: the woman and the manager (Eagly, Karau, 2002). Contrary to our expectation that women would be less discriminative against the female applicant than men, in our sample women have underrated the female applicant to a larger extent than men have. This result is somehow similar to the ones reported by Goldberg (1968) in his initial study which showed that not only men but women too are prejudiced against women.

We consider that a possible explanation for these results could be given by relating the role congruity theory to the Romanian values context. Romanian sociological

research on the perception of women's roles in family and public life (especially the Gender Barometer, 2000) provides us with a portrait of women, as it results from the respondent's reports. More than 60% of the respondents consider that it is women's duty to take care of the household. 78% think that a woman should follow her husband, 54% agree that men are more capable leaders than women, yet only 2% of the respondents prefer women to be leaders in public life (Gender Barometer, 2000). This is illustrative of the generally shared belief in Romanian society nowadays, according to which women are supposed to play a part that is consistently the private sphere. The shared stereotyped representation here is that women's place and role is only related to family life and by no means to leading positions, where men come first.

Most of the literature stemming from social identity theory acknowledges the fact that in-group favoritism prevails in the social world (Hewstone, Rubin, Willis, 2002). The results of the present study give an example of an exception to the rule, by pointing to the fact that the impact of implicit stereotyping is stronger than that of group identity. In fact, our results showed that women in our sample discriminated against other women to a larger extent than men did. People's tendency to prefer a man in a managerial position in a culture still dominated by traditional values (i.e., Romanian) is mainly guided by a set of shared beliefs concerning women's abilities that contrast with the requirements of a managing role. Not even the social identity of the evaluator attenuates the impact of the gender stereotype on the decision made in a personnel selection task. Since studies using simulated personnel selection tasks can effectively model the processes that occur during real selection processes

(Eagly, Karau, 2002), the results of our study can be used to explain the low representation of women in top managerial positions in Romanian organizations (Curşeu, Boroş, 2004).

Considering the practical implications of our findings, one should notice that some policies against discrimination based solely on asking people to make evaluations of same in-group members (based on the assumption that they will be less prejudiced this way), will most probably not suffice to eliminate gender stereotyping and discrimination. It would appear as if Greenwald et al.'s (2002) implication that, due to their need for positive associations with the self, people will see in rosier tones the members of their own social group, does not assure behavioral implications when it comes to concrete situations, rather than mere general evaluations (as in Greenwald et al.'s 2002 study). Our results are somehow discrepant with both role congruity and implicit social cognition theories, and they give reason to suggest the involvement of several other contextual factors (e.g., cultural context) in the way gender stereotypes operate and change. Stereotypes are not stable over time (Soubiale, Roussiau, 2002) and other factors like the historical context (Schruijer, 2005), the self concept or personality may also play a role in the way stereotypes operate (Avsec, 2003, 2006; Kusá, 2002).

This would also be a signal for educational policies that intend to pursue gender education by the use of explicit contents. In the most general sense, implicit stereotypes are resistant to explicit change, and due to the pervasive impact of contextual (e.g., cultural) factors on stereotype activation and use, stereotypes change on a large scale will most probably follow a cultural shift (from traditional to more modern values). According to implicit social

cognition theory (Greenwald et al., 2002), changes in the social context, the greater presence of women in leading positions, as well as the social impact of feminism, should lead to a significant change in the weight of the association between stereotyped representations related to women and socially shared cognitions regarding the role of manager. The interaction with atypical members of a category and changes in the social context are factors mentioned in the literature in relation to the modification of stereotyped representations (Hilton, Hippiel, 1996; Curşeu, Stoop, Schalk, 2007). The more frequent interaction in social life with women in leading positions and the social norming of gender equality regarding rights and opportunities are factors that could strengthen the association between stereotyped representations related to women and cognitions regarding the role of managers. Another way of strengthening these associations would be changing stereotyped representations regarding women in general. In traditional-values societies (such as Romania) though, this change can hardly be expected. The Gender Barometer (2000) shows that 36% of the respondents prefer a man to be a leader in the public life, while only 2% choose a woman and 58% claim gender is not important. Comparing these results with Eagly and Karau's (2002) data for the US, we can establish a similarity regarding the direct preference for a woman in a leading position, but the similarity is between 2000 Romanian data and '53-'75 US data. The similarity is not perfect though, the questions being sensibly different. The US respondents were asked about a superior at their workplace, while the Romanians had to declare themselves for a public-life leader. For a more specific situation (e.g., of personnel selection), training programs that aim at reducing the

Table 7. Preferences expressed by US respondents to the question: "assuming you applied for a new job and you could choose your supervisor, would you prefer it was (a) a male" (b) a female (c) gender is not important (results obtained in Gallup surveys and cited in Eagly and Karau, 2002, p. 580)

Responses	Respondents' gender	1953	1975	1982	1995	2000
Preferring a man as a direct supervisor	Male	75%	63%	40%	37%	45%
	Female	57%	60%	52%	54%	50%
Preferring a woman as a direct supervisor	Male	2%	4%	9%	17%	19%
	Female	8%	10%	15%	22%	26%
Supervisor's gender is not important	Male	21%	32%	46%	44%	35%
	Female	29%	27%	30%	24%	22%

information processing biases associated with stereotypes (e.g., overgeneralization, oversimplification, ignoring relevant information) could lead to the reduction of discrimination in organizational contexts.

The second unexpected result in our study relates to the contents of the women-managers stereotype. Previous studies have pointed out that while male managers are considered to be more task-oriented than women, women managers are usually perceived as more relationship-oriented than men (Eagly, Johnson, 1990; Maher, 1997; Carless, 1998; Sczesny, 2003). In our study, women were rated lower than men both regarding their task- and relationships orientation. This unexpected finding of women being perceived as less relationships-oriented than men might be accounted for by a bias that reflects the respondents' tendency to rate the woman manager lower than the man because the respondent's stereotype is that a woman doesn't fit in a managerial position.

Limitations

Some limitations of this research should also be considered here. The first limita-

tion of the study refers to the sample. The sample is composed of people with a higher education background, which approximates only to a certain extent to the characteristics of the managers in real organizations. The results cannot therefore be extrapolated to people in management positions. It can, however, be stated that, in general, gender-related stereotypes influence personnel selection decisions and can lead to discrimination. A second limitation refers to the content of the job description for the targeted position. In the present study we only used a generic job description (marketing manager). Future studies can address the moderating role of the type of position for which the job application is made (some jobs are more associated with the stereotypical male image, while others are associated with the stereotypical female image). The third limitation refers to the fact that the study used a simulated personnel selection task to investigate the impact of stereotypes on decisions. It was assumed that the verbal description of the task will equally trigger the implicit gender stereotypes in all participants. However, in real life situation the presence of another person and the salience of gender-related

traits may have a stronger influence on the activation of stereotypes than a simple verbal description. Although the use of an indirect measure for stereotypes is a strength of this study, a fourth limitation concerns the preferences for the two resumes presented to the control group. The two resumes were created similar in content, however there is a slightly higher preference for the first resume in the control group. The shift in preferences is nevertheless a strong indicator of the impact of the experimental manipulation on the hiring decision. Finally, the extent and the nature of the contact between the respondents and women in leading positions may have influenced the extent to which gender-related stereotypes were used in the decision-making process. Recent studies (Curşeu, Stoop, Schalk, 2007) show that the extent and nature of interpersonal contact between the evaluator and the targeted group have a strong impact on the content as well as on the valence of stereotypes.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, in our experimental study, we initially evaluated the respondent's preference for two resumes by describing two male applicants for a sales manager position. When in the second condition we changed the sex of one of the applicants, the respondents' preferences for the two resumes shifted dramatically (from a 60-40% in the control condition to 40-60% in the experimental one) toward a preference for the man applicant. This means a difference of over 20% in respondents' preferences, even though the data in the two resumes (based on which they had to make their choices) was similar. A similar shift can be noticed for the assessment scales attached to each resume. The managerial skills of the person in the second

resume are scored higher by the experimental group (when the competitor is a female), while respondents in the control group, who are told both applicant are males, score the person presented in the first resume higher. The study is illustrative of the major implications of gender-related biases in simulated personnel decisions in Romania. These results are interpreted in the larger socio-cultural Romanian context in which traditional values are still shaping the way people make social judgments. Therefore, the study offers support for a contingency approach to stereotypes dynamics showing that contextual factors, especially cultural ones, play a central role in the activation and use of stereotypes.

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APPENDIX 1

The materials used in the study (example from the experimental group)

Instructions

Imagine that you are the manager of a company that markets alimentary products. There is a vacancy for a sales manager position in your company. You have to hire someone within a very short time frame, and hence must rely only on the resumes you have from two applicants. You must make the hiring decision based only on the data presented in the resumes. Analyze carefully the two resumes that follow and decide who you will hire. Please fill in the assessment scale for each person; this assessment scale is presented at the end of each resume. Fill in the scale only after you have carefully read both resumes.

Appendix 1 continues

CV 1

First name: RALUCA
Name: PAVELCU
Date and place of birth: 18 June 1974, Cluj-Napoca
Nationality: Romanian
Address: Street: Constanta, BL. G3, Sc. B, Ap. 36, Cluj-Napoca
Telephone: 0740114373
Marital status: Not married
Educational background: 1990-1994: Economics High School, Accounting
 1994-1998: "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Faculty of Economics, Department of Management
 May 1999: Information technology course at Technical University Cluj-Napoca
 September 2000: Masters in Marketing
 Trainings with CODECS certification for negotiation techniques and teamwork.

Professional experience:

1998	Sales agent Argos
1999	Field agent for surveys and market studies IMAS
1999-2000	Market researcher in "Daedalus Consulting" company
2000-2002	Marketing manager at Sergo Exim SRL (Cluj- Napoca) - a company that produces and sells electro-technical goods.

Skills and competencies

- good negotiator with excellent communication skills
- good organizer
- a good ability to work in highly stressful conditions and under high time pressure
- competitive
- PC related skills and knowledge - Excel, Word, Access, Corel Draw
- driving license category B
- foreign languages: English (Alpha Center certification), Spanish (average level)

1. Assess on a 1 to 7 scale the managerial skills of the person described above.
2. How efficient do you think this person will be in solving interpersonal conflicts in the department he/she will run? (1 to 7)
3. How much do you think this person will encourage team members to express their ideas and suggestions? (1 to 7)
4. How efficient do you think this person will be in making the right decisions in running the sales department? (1 to 7)
5. To what extent do you think this person can help grow profits for your company? (1 to 7)

CV2

First name: MIHAI
Name: MARCU
Date and place of birth: September 2nd 1975, Cluj-Napoca
Nationality: Romanian
Address: Street: Horea 85, Sc. A, Ap. 10, Cluj-Napoca
Telephone: 0723185731
Marital status Not married
Educational background: 1991-1995: "E. Racovită" High School, Informatics
 1995-1999: "Babeş-Bolyai" University, Transylvania
 Business School, Specialization Strategic Management
 and Marketing
 May 2000: Specialized trainings in marketing with
 CODECS certification for negotiation techniques and
 teamwork.

Professional experience:

1998-1999 Sales agent Amprenta Advertising
 2000 Accountant S.C. Tax Consulting SRL
 2001 Market researcher S.C. Francesca SRL
 2002 Market researcher in "Daedalus Consulting" company

Skills and competencies

- good performance in competitive environments
- good negotiation and communication skills
- very good task organizer
- perseverance and high efficiency in problematic situations
- PC related skills and knowledge - Excel, Word, Access, Adobe Photoshop-foreign languages: English (Lingua Center certification), French (average level)
- driving license category B

1. Assess on a 1 to 7 scale the managerial skills of the person described above.
2. How efficient do you think this person will be in solving interpersonal conflicts in the department he/she will run? (1 to 7)
3. How much do you think this person will encourage team members to express their ideas and suggestions? (1 to 7)
4. How efficient do you think this person will be in making the right decisions in running the sales department? (1 to 7)
5. To what extent do you think this person can help grow profits for your company? (1 to 7)

STEREOTYPY A PREDSUDBY VOČI ŽENÁM MANAŽÉRKAM:
EXPERIMENTÁLNA ILUSTRÁCIA S POUŽITÍM GOLDBERGOVEJ PARADIGMY
NA RUMUNSKÉJ VZORKE

P. L. Curşeu, S. Boros

Súhrn: Experimentálny výskum stereotypných postojov k ženám-manažérkam vychádzajúci z Goldbergovej paradigmy sa uskutočnil na rodovo zmiešanej rumunskej vzorke. 329 jednotlivcov sa zúčastnilo simulovaného personálneho výberového konania. 166 účastníkov si malo vybrať medzi dvoma životopismi údajne 2 mužov, zatiaľ čo 163 účastníkov si volilo medzi tými istými dvoma životopismi, ale prvý z nich údajne patril žene. Všetci účastníci mali posúdiť manažérske schopnosti, zameranie na pracovnú úlohu a zameranie na vzťahy oboch kandidátov. Výsledky ukazujú zjavný pokles preferencií pri životopise ženy v druhej experimentálnej skupine v porovnaní s preferenciami účastníkov prvej experimentálnej skupiny, kde ten istý životopis patril mužovi. Jednotlivci v druhej experimentálnej skupine posudzovali manažérske schopnosti, zameranie na pracovnú úlohu a zameranie na vzťahy u muža vyššie než u ženy. Napriek očakávaniu, ženy-posudzovateľky zaujali rovnako diskriminujúci postoj voči žene uchádzačke ako muži-posudzovatelia. Výsledky nepodporujú predpoklad implicitnej teórie sociálnej kognície a odôvodňujú sa hodnotami rumunskej kultúry, kde sú ženy tradične vnímané ako súčasť súkromnej a nie verejnej sféry.